







INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

Gorbachev Unanswered

Which American presidential candidate offers more promise in foreign relations? On the most important relationship, this campaign remains, for both candidates, a campaign of missed opportunity.

The Soviet leader proposes reducing long-range nuclear weapons sharply. He proposes cutting conventional forces. He calls for elimination of chemical weapons.

There is no alternative to UN forces to keep the peace in Cyprus, the Middle East, South-West Africa and elsewhere. Mr. Dukakis knows that and promises to explore new Soviet ideas for the United Nations.

Who would respond better to all the diplomatic challenges of coming years? Mr. Bush seems more alert to the nasty world of power and intractable conflicts than his opponent.

It doesn't take much sense to know that Moscow is driven by both, no less by Mr. Gorbachev's aims and problems than by American might.

U.S. Justice for Marcos

It is hard to figure out what is the worst aspect of the offenses of which Ferdinand Marcos, the ousted former president of the Philippines, is now being indicted.

Indicting a deposed head of state granted asylum in the United States may seem a poor way to treat a guest, but according to a federal grand jury in New York.

Even in dealing with the shadiest national leader, prudence might argue against prosecution. Despoits ought to be encouraged to leave power without bloodshed.

There was also the consideration of whether indicting Mr. Marcos would undercut any possible effort to induce the next used-up dictator to abandon ship.

Even before the indictments, the Marcoses had become a metaphor for irresponsible greed and the eradication of the line that ought to exist between public office and personal gain.

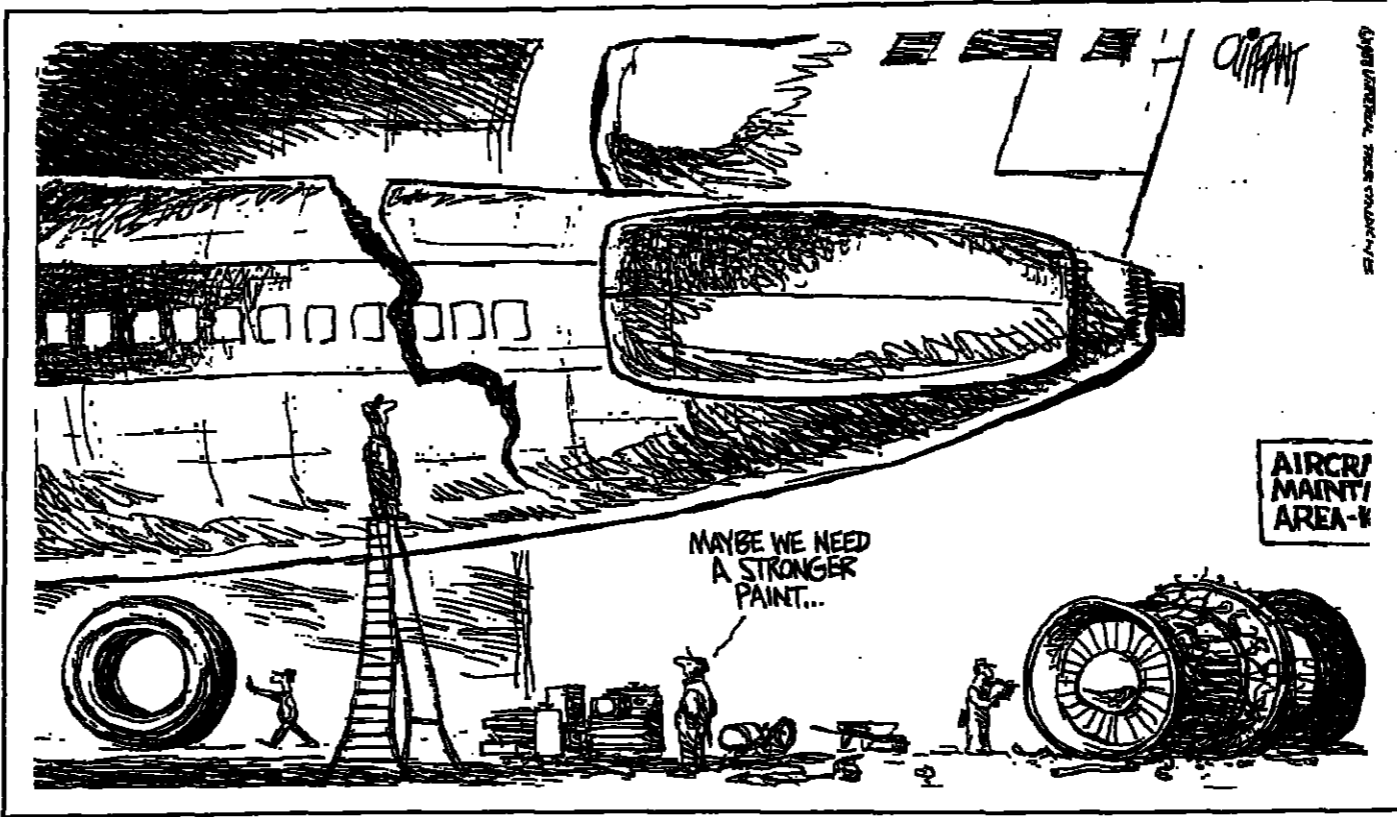
Other Comment

Let's Have the Merry Hour

We have always supported the idea of synchronizing watches with Europe. Summer time in winter and double summer time the rest of the year does not just make telephoning Frankfurt easier; it also means you can have a uicer day.

Nirvana in Los Angeles

Ah, the Los Angeles Dodgers were indisputably, demonstrably, definitively the best. They achieved that distinction the old-fashioned way. They earned it.



Israel: Palestinians, Too, Could Hold Elections

By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON — Israel's political campaign, which ends just a week before America's, has similarly featured more inactivity than attention to the country's real problems.

There was a telling sign of this more realistic view last Monday. Shimon Peres, the Labor leader, and his rival in the party, Yitzhak Rabin, held a joint press conference.

Mr. Rabin said that any Palestinian who has not participated in terrorism could vote. The election would take place only on condition that the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories stop first.

In 1976, Israel conducted elections for mayors in the West Bank and Gaza. Most of the winning candidates were supporters of the PLO, and Israel has since removed all of those men from office.

What made the joint Peres-Rabin demarche so striking was that until now Mr. Rabin, the hard-line defense minister, has opposed elections in the occupied territories.

Why the change of mind now? One immediate political reason is to try to hold Israeli-Arab votes that gave Labor three seats in the last election.

But when Mr. Peres speaks of representation for "the Palestinian side in negotiations," I think he is talking about something deeper: a growing acceptance among Israelis of the idea that there is a "Palestinian side" and that Israel must talk to it.

The uprising in the West Bank and Gaza has been going on for nearly 11 months now. It is as dramatic a demonstration of Palestinian political consciousness as can be imagined.

Israel: Heading Neck and Neck Into a New Agenda

By Abraham Rabinovich

JERUSALEM — Israelis are saying that the elections on Nov. 1 will be the most important ever held in the country, as for the first time since the Six Day War voters are asked to make a clear-cut decision on the occupied territories.

Theoretically, a clear-cut Labor victory would open the way to negotiations leading to return of the bulk of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to Arab hands in exchange for peace.

It is a fearful choice — and one so potentially explosive, internally no less than externally, that any government would be loath to move without the backing of a solid public consensus.

The two major blocs, at present locked in a loveless embrace within a national coalition government, appear to be running neck and neck a week before the elections.

United Nations: Rush Hour Ahead

By Hans Binnendijk

LONDON — The United Nations turns 43 today, rejuvenated by its Nobel prize for peacekeeping operations and by its successes in managing conflict in Southwest Asia.

The United Nations has 10,000 troops in blue helmets engaged in seven peace operations at a cost of more than \$250 million annually. This requirement could easily double next year.

The first challenge will be to design operations that meet the needs of emerging settlements in Namibia, the Western Sahara and Cambodia without overwhelming UN capabilities.

The conflicts in Namibia, Western Sahara and Cambodia are all civil wars with some element of foreign intervention. Settlements would include varying degrees of UN participation in election monitoring, refugee resettlement and police actions against dissidents opposed to the peace accords.

For the Namibia operation alone, UN officials estimate that 7,500 troops and 2,500 civilians would be needed to monitor the transition to UN independence, at a cost exceeding \$600 million. A mooted UN presence there next month, well before a settlement is reached in Angola, could prove particularly dangerous.

The Soviet proposals cannot be rejected out of hand. Underlying them may be a Soviet desire consistent with their so-called "new thinking" to reduce their own military involvement in regional conflict. Their general approach in tabling these proposals this year has been to seek consensus rather

that has the sympathy of the world. An Israeli colonel put it, "We've shown them that if they want to arm wrestle, well, we'll arm wrestle."

The Israelis, for their part, have learned that there is no such thing as an enlightened occupation. They realize that even if the intifadah appears to slow down, it will not be smothered out.

The two sides have in a sense been brought closer together by the uprising. The pride wrought by it has permitted the militant Palestinian leadership to flirt in public more daringly than ever with the notion of formally accepting Israel's existence.

The Arab have to weigh not only Israel's enormous military strength but the national will that has displayed in dealing with the intifadah and the technological potential revealed by the satellite placed into orbit last month by rockets powerful enough to reach virtually any Arab capital.

It would be wrong to suggest that it makes no difference who wins the coming Israeli elections; a decisive victory could certainly lead to a dramatic move in one direction or the other.

But even if the results are inconclusive, broad forces — political, psychological, economic, military — will undoubtedly move the region along into new configurations. History may provide its own agenda.

Verifying a worldwide chemical weapons ban would be a nearly impossible task requiring continual inspection of production facilities, potential storage areas and front-line military units in signatory countries.

New financial resources, manpower, training and technology will be required if the United Nations is to have any chance of meeting even the most modest of these challenges.

The Soviet Union, for its part, should avoid bold new proposals which only complicate an already complex set of requirements for the United Nations.

The writer is director of studies at the International Institute for Strategic Studies. He contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

There is no military solution in what we are facing," he said. "It is mainly a political problem."

Ephraim Sneh, a retired brigadier general who was military governor of the West Bank until a year ago, said that "the most important thing to realize" is that the uprising "has very broad popular support."

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and his Likud Party continue to take an unyielding line, saying that they will never give up any of the occupied territory. But there are figures in the Likud who believe that Israel must talk with the Palestinians — and make some kind of political settlement.

I think the Israeli public as a whole is ready to negotiate with the Palestinians than political rhetoric has indicated. There is fear — understandable, given history. An event like last Wednesday's killing of seven Israeli soldiers in Lebanon by a Hezbollah car bomb heightened the fear. But there is also common sense in most Israelis, and a willingness to deal with those who forever terrorism.

What is needed now is leadership — from all sides. The Palestine National Council, due to meet next month, could make a great difference if it moved to accept Israel's reality. U.S. encouragement of negotiations will be essential. And the next Israeli government will have to signal, however cautiously at first, that it is ready to talk with the Palestinians.

The New York Times

Washington is getting alarmed about the impact on America. At least one Republican senator has argued that in reprisal the United States should set up a "Fortress America" trading zone, including Mexico as well as Canada.

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Big Traders Congealing Into Blocs?

By Flora Lewis

PARIS — A watershed in world trade has not far ahead. Decisions during the next American administration can determine long-term health of the U.S. and world economies, affecting politics and defense.

For the moment, many give up services to the principle of more trade freedom, global cooperation and so on. But a December meeting in Manila will be a hard-fought prelude to the big trade battle looming. The U.S. chief negotiator, Clayton Yeutter, has warned of a "full-scale confrontation" if the Europeans aren't willing to play an end to agricultural subsidies.

While they talk free trade, major players are gearing up for a titanic battle of blocs, with undertones of World War II. A 1984 vision of a world divided among three power blocs remains as relevant as ever.

On one side is Europe with its 1992 target for setting up a true common market. The United States has warned against the European Community surrounding itself with barriers that would make a "Fortress Europe" and community officials say it isn't their intention. But they continue to insist on an ill-defined notion of "reciprocity," bargaining off concessions with other countries one by one, the opposite of multilateral free trade.

There is also pressure within the community for a "domestic content" rule, ostensibly to prevent Japanese firms from leaping over the wall by setting up European finishing plants for Japanese-made goods. That would be another form of protectionism.

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Vertical advertisements on the right edge of the page, including 'Rocard E', 'KOHLE: 1.511', 'SLEEP: Less Is', and 'The MAN Partners Advance'.



Weekly International Bond Prices

Provided by Credit Suisse First Boston Securities, London, Tel.: 01 523 11 30. Prices may vary according to market conditions and other factors. Oct. 20

Dollar Straights

Table of Dollar Straights bond prices, including columns for Issuer, Con, Mat, Price, Yld, and Bid. Includes sub-sections for Australia, Japan, and France.

Mutual Funds

Table of Mutual Funds bond prices, including columns for Issuer, Con, Mat, Price, Yld, and Bid. Lists various fund names and their corresponding prices.

Western Europe (Other)

Table of Western Europe (Other) bond prices, including columns for Issuer, Con, Mat, Price, Yld, and Bid.

DM Straights

Table of DM Straights bond prices, including columns for Issuer, Con, Mat, Price, Yld, and Bid.

Supranational

Table of Supranational bond prices, including columns for Issuer, Con, Mat, Price, Yld, and Bid.

United Kingdom

Table of United Kingdom bond prices, including columns for Issuer, Con, Mat, Price, Yld, and Bid.

United States

Table of United States bond prices, including columns for Issuer, Con, Mat, Price, Yld, and Bid.

Non-European

Table of Non-European bond prices, including columns for Issuer, Con, Mat, Price, Yld, and Bid.

World Bk. Mkt

Table of World Bk. Mkt bond prices, including columns for Issuer, Con, Mat, Price, Yld, and Bid.

ECU Straights

Table of ECU Straights bond prices, including columns for Issuer, Con, Mat, Price, Yld, and Bid.

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Non-European

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DM Zero Coupons

Table of DM Zero Coupons bond prices, including columns for Issuer, Con, Mat, Price, Yld, and Bid.

Dollar Zero Coupons

Table of Dollar Zero Coupons bond prices, including columns for Issuer, Con, Mat, Price, Yld, and Bid.

WestLB advertisement for Fixed Income and Equities Trading, featuring contact information for Dusseldorf, London, Luxembourg, and Hong Kong.

Vertical advertisement on the right edge of the page, including 'FROM TELEVISION', 'MONDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1988', and 'WestLB' branding.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1988

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EUROBONDS

Strong-Currency Issues Draw the Greatest Interest

By CARL GEWIRTZ International Herald Tribune

PARIS — Lenders and borrowers, showing a rare confluence of interests, made a dash for high-coupon, strong-currency Eurobonds last week, freezing the U.S. dollar completely out of the new-issue calendar for fixed-coupon straight bonds.

The dollar's slide to four-month lows against the Deutsche mark and yen, without encountering official resistance, accounted for the currency's fall from favor. At the same time, the recent round of takeovers and buyouts, which can quickly turn good credit into bad, diminished the allure of U.S. companies.

Both U.S. credit-rating services announced last week that they had put Philip Morris Co., which is bidding for Kraft Inc., and RJR Nabisco, whose management is considering a \$17 billion plan to take the company private, under review for possible downgrades.

Moody's Investors Service said that "should a leveraged buyout occur, it is likely to result in sharply increased debt levels for RJR Nabisco" and substantially lowered debt-holder protection.

The borrowers who did tap the Euro market had no problem offering investors the high coupons they like or the currencies of their choice, since the issuers could end up with low-cost currencies of their choice through swaps.

The Canadian dollar was the preferred investment vehicle. Canadian borrowers, such as the Province of New Brunswick or the city of Winnipeg, were content to stick with that currency, but preferred tapping the Euro market where they could raise money at slightly lower costs than at home.

Institutional investors like Canadian paper issued by Canadian issuers, once the price has declined to put the yield closer to domestic levels, because experience has shown that domestic Canadian investors will come into the Eurobond market buying such paper once the yields look attractive.

BUT MOST of the issuers last week were not Canadian. For the non-Canadian the currency was simply the one that offered the most attractive opportunities. It was the first allowing them to swap the proceeds into low-cost, floating rate U.S. dollars at a range of 25 to 40 basis points — or hundreds of a percentage point — below the London interbank offered rate, and then into low-cost, fixed-rate funds in the currency of their choice.

For Eurofima, which offered 100 million Canadian dollars of eight-year notes, the end currency was French francs. For the World Bank, which sold 150 million five-year Canadian dollar notes, the end-swap was into yen.

What the borrowers did with the proceeds was of no interest to investors. They were happy to have paper bearing coupons of more than 10 percent, easily a percentage point more than could be earned buying U.S. dollar bonds, and in a currency that appears likely to appreciate against the U.S. dollar.

At the start of this month it took 1.22 Canadian dollars to buy a U.S. dollar. The rate is now 1.202. Simon Crane, a currency analyst based in Britain, says the exchange rate could easily move to 1.1725. Mr. Crane dismissed talk of a greater near-term appreciation, but bankers say their clients are betting that re-election of Brian Mulroney as the Canadian prime minister on Nov. 21 and subsequent approval of the U.S.-Canadian free trade pact could, over the longer term, push the Canadian unit closer to parity with the U.S. dollar.

Despite this, it was evident that the nine issues last week totaling 900 million Canadian dollars were too much to be absorbed at one time. The Canadian dollar sector is dominated by retail investors, which means placing the paper takes more time than, say, U.S. dollar issues.

Almost all the issues ended the week trading at discounts equal to the underwriting fees. Only one, the World Bank issue, fared better than the fees at less 1.6 points, compared with fees of 1 1/4 points. New Brunswick and Ford Credit of Canada fared less well, trading at discounts larger than the underwriting fees.

Activity was also heavy in European currency units. Here, too, the driving force was the ample opportunity for issuers to swap the proceeds. For investors, the ECU is also a safe harbor against the dollar, even though the unit's weaker components — such as the lira and French franc — are likely to be devalued against the stronger ones like the Deutsche mark and guilder.

While the ECU's relative stability appeals to conservative investors, a major drawback for institutional investors is the relative lack of liquidity in the secondary market. The heavy concentration of retail investors who tend not to trade their holdings and the modest size of most issues makes it difficult for

See EUROBONDS, Page 9

Currency Rates

Table with columns: Cross Rates, Oct. 21, and various currency pairs like Amsterdam, Brussels, Frankfurt, London, etc.

Changes in London, Tokyo and Zurich. Rates in other centers. New York closing rates. C: Commercial rates; B: To buy one pound; C: To buy one dollar; U: Units of 100; N2: not quoted; N.A.: not available.

Table with columns: Other Dollar Values, Currency, Par \$, and various currency values like Canadian dollar, Hong Kong dollar, etc.

Table with columns: Forward Rates, Currency, 30-day, 60-day, 90-day, and various forward rates for Canadian dollar, Swiss franc, etc.

Sources: Indusbank Bank (London); Banca Commerciale Italiana (Milan); Banque Nationale de Paris (Paris); Bank of Tokyo (Tokyo); I.M.P. (S.D.R.); BAI (Tokyo, rival, dollar); Gorbank (Tbilisi). Other data from Reuters and AP.

Last Week's Markets

Table with columns: Stock Indices, Money Rates, and various market data like DJ Industrials, FTSE 100, etc.

Insider Bill Passes in U.S. Senate Approves Stiffer Civil, Criminal Penalties

By Nathaniel C. Nash New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Capping a two-year struggle to address insider trading scandals on Wall Street, the Senate has approved legislation that greatly increases the monetary penalties and jail terms for such crimes.

In a voice vote held early Saturday morning, the Senate passed and sent to President Ronald Reagan for signing a bill that would not only expose Wall Street firms to greater liability in insider trading cases, but would also provide bounty payments to informers and require brokerage firms to police their employees.

Among its provisions, the law would make these specific changes:

- The government could give an informer a bounty of up to 10 percent of the fine or settlement in an insider trading case.
• Individuals could be jailed for 10 years per violation, and fined a maximum of \$1 million.
• Wall Street firms would be liable for triple the amount of illegal profits gained in civil cases brought by the Securities Exchange Commission should they "knowingly or recklessly" fail to supervise staff and prevent abuses.

The legislation was approved unanimously in the House of Representatives on Sept. 14 and congressional aides say Mr. Reagan is likely to sign it.

"I believe this legislation will add to greater investor confidence in our capital markets and will serve as a deterrent to insider trading abuses," said Senator William Proxmire, a Wisconsin Democrat who serves as chairman of the Senate Banking Committee.

Representative Edward J. Markey, a Massachusetts Democrat, said: "The Senate today joined with the House in sending a strong signal to Wall Street that the days of a see-no-evil, hear-no-evil, speak-no-evil approach to insider

trading are over." Mr. Markey co-authored the bill with Representative John D. Dingell, Democrat of Michigan.

Though all portions of the insider trading measure were not welcomed by the securities industry and the SEC, in the end the bill got the backing of both a leading industry group and the commission chairman, David S. Ruder.

"The increased penalties and fines will definitely be a deterrent," said Mr. Ruder, adding that the full SEC had not taken an official stand on the legislation.

"Nothing is ever perfect," said William J. Fitzpatrick, general counsel for the Securities Industry Association. "But we told Congressmen Dingell and Markey that we would not oppose the bill."

Both Mr. Ruder and Mr. Fitzpatrick, however, voiced skepticism about the effectiveness of the bounty provisions of the bill, and they expressed regret that the new law does not legally define what constitutes insider trading.

Efforts to clamp down on insider trading have gained broad, bipartisan support in the Congress, but the measure was almost scuttled by last-minute politicking in the Senate, where Republicans for a time placed a hold on the bill to press for other legislation they wanted.

The bill is the first response by Congress to the string of major insider trading cases uncovered by the SEC in recent years.

In illegal insider trading, members of the securities industry or corporate executives, for example, trade in securities based on confidential information, such as a pending takeover.

The SEC had urged Congress to issue a legal definition on insider trading, since enforcement now depends on general antifraud provisions in U.S. securities laws and the case law that has developed.

The Securities Industry Association and others argue that the lack of a definition gives prosecutors enforcement powers that are too broad, and does not give traders a clear idea of what is legal and illegal.

But those who opposed including a specific definition in the bill, particularly Mr. Dingell,



David S. Ruder, SEC chairman

argued that any definition would make it easier for lawyers and traders to avoid technical violations of the law and create legal loopholes.

The law increases both civil and criminal penalties for insider trading.

For individuals, it will raise the jail term to 10 years per violation, from the current five years, while increasing the fine to \$1 million, from \$100,000.

For corporations or partnerships, it will increase the fines to a maximum of \$2.5 million, from \$500,000 currently.

For the first time, the law will make securities firms and their "controlling persons" who "knowingly or recklessly" fail to supervise their employees and prevent insider trading, liable for damages up to triple the amount of illegal profit earned.

The bill will require that firms begin training and supervisory procedures to monitor the trading of their employees more closely and prevent misuse of non-public information.

Japanese Curbs On Computer Networks Eased

By David E. Sanger New York Times Service

TOKYO — Moving to resolve a bitter high-technology dispute, Japan has said that it would rescind rules that sharply limit the ability of foreign companies — particularly International Business Machines Corp. — to establish private, multi-million-dollar computer networks between Japan and other nations.

Japanese officials said they had reached a draft agreement with the United States after negotiations in Washington. The agreement is expected to be formally approved this week.

While some of the details are still unclear, the agreement appears to calm a heated debate over whether the Japanese government can dictate what kind of communications standards computer companies may use when they build international satellite networks.

These so-called value-added networks involve a complex mix of telecommunications and data processing services that make it possible, for instance, for an automaker in Tokyo to check on a supply of parts in Cleveland, order them from West Germany and have the system send the bill to Los Angeles — all in a matter of seconds.

The value added lies in the ability of the network to connect disparate computer systems and to perform many computing functions by itself.

Last year, as many of the networks were about to expand so that they could link Japan and the United States, Japanese authorities issued a policy statement saying that all such international networks that include Japan must adhere to standards set by an affiliate of the United Nations, the International Telegraph and Telephone Consultative Committee.

U.S. officials had viewed Japan's action as a delaying tactic, one intended to give its computer and communications giants a chance to catch up in critical software technologies in which, most experts agree, the United States retains a clear lead over Japan.

Thus, the topic quickly became a key issue in the gradual merger of the telecommunications and computer industries.

The agreement clears the way for the world's largest computer maker to establish international networks from Japan using proprietary IBM standards.

IBM officials in Tokyo said that they had not had time to review the details of the agreement, which will be laid out in an exchange of letters between the Commerce Department and Japan's Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications.

Net Asset Value on October 6, 1988 Pacific Selection Fund N.V. U.S.\$0.02 per U.S.\$1 unit. Pacific Selection Fund N.V.

Pernod Wins a Ruling In Battle for Distillers

Reuters

DUBLIN — Pernod Ricard, the French beverages concern, has won the latest battle in the lengthy takeover fight for the whiskey maker Irish Distillers Group PLC.

An Irish judge ruled that Pernod, which is opposed by the British hotels and beverages giant Grand Metropolitan PLC, had won an irrevocable promise of a 20-percent stake in Irish Distillers held by the Irish fruit importer FII Fyffes PLC.

Justice Declan Costello said Friday: "I have no doubt that the negotiations had in this case ripened to an agreement."

The chairman of Pernod Ricard, Patrick Ricard, welcomed the Dublin court's decision but stressed that the fight was not over.

"We are very happy to have won this case," he said in Paris. "I believe a major hurdle has been cleared with this ruling."

Justice Costello put a seven-day stay on his order for Fyffes to sell the stake, pending an appeal to Ireland's Supreme Court.

Grand Met also said Pernod Ricard owned 5 percent of International Distillers' share capital, while it held a 25.1 percent stake.

But Pernod Ricard said after the court ruling that more than 50 percent of the IDG shares were irrevocably committed to it. That figure would include a 10 percent stake held by Irish Life, an insurance company.

The managing director of Pernod Ricard, Thierry Jacquillat said,

"We look forward to concluding a successful merger with Irish Distillers and building a stronger Irish whiskey industry with substantial growth in international markets."

Irish Distillers dominate the Irish whiskey market with such brands as Jameson, Bushmills, Paddy and Power's. Apart from its pestis drinks Pernod, Ricard and Soze, Pernod is best known for making and marketing Dubonnet, the bourbon whiskey Wild Turkey and the soft drink Orangina.

Pernod has bid 285 million Irish punt (\$420.9 million) or 4.50 punt a share, for Irish Distillers. Grand Met countered by offering 332 million punt, or 5.25 punt a share.

The major winner in the accord appears to be IBM, which lobbied heavily behind the scenes to change the Japanese regulations.

The agreement clears the way for the world's largest computer maker to establish international networks from Japan using proprietary IBM standards.

IBM officials in Tokyo said that they had not had time to review the details of the agreement, which will be laid out in an exchange of letters between the Commerce Department and Japan's Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications.

Net Asset Value on October 6, 1988 Pacific Selection Fund N.V. U.S.\$0.02 per U.S.\$1 unit. Pacific Selection Fund N.V.

U.S. Debt Policy Role Is Questioned

By Peter T. Kilborn New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Six years ago, when Miguel de la Madrid was approaching inauguration as president of Mexico, the United States rallied behind him with a \$1.8 billion loan to shore up the Mexican economy.

Now, Mr. de la Madrid is leaving and another president-elect, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, will take office Dec. 1. Again, the United States is preparing an emergency short-term loan — this time, of \$3.5 billion.

Much has happened in the six years since Mexico's first cry for help signaled the start of periodic debt crises in the developing world.

The big debtor countries are poorer, but some countries' finances have improved, and with that their ability to make payments on debts. Nevertheless, the debts have kept growing; they now exceed \$1.2 trillion, about \$400 billion more than in 1982.

During these years, the Reagan administration has devised a policy known as the Baker Plan, that amounts to an ideological quiver of carrots and sticks.

In exchange for new loans and easier repayment terms, it has insisted that borrowers adopt growth-oriented policies that would require such measures as changes in tax systems, selling off of government-owned companies and deregulation of their economies.

But this plan, put together three years ago by James A. Baker 3d when he was U.S. Treasury secretary, has met resistance. Many de-

veloping countries say such policies interfere with their political goals. And American banks, by and large, have failed to come up with the expanded level of financing envisioned by the administration.

Criticism from Americans and others has been rising. Senator Bill Bradley, Democrat of New Jersey, who advises Michael S. Dukakis,

The debate is still open. No big Western bank has collapsed because of client countries' difficulties in paying off debts, although they have taken losses.

The Democratic presidential candidate, an international economic affairs, is among those who have been saying that steps should be taken to forgive some of the debt.

They want to reduce the burden on borrowers, in contrast to the administration, which emphasizes minimizing the strain on lenders and the financial system.

The debate is still open. One reason is that no big Western bank has collapsed because of client countries' difficulties in paying off debts, although they have had to take some sizable losses.

At the same time, the American

Swap Nets a Soccer Star

New York Times Service

PARIS — Philips NV, the giant Dutch electronics company, has traded \$5 million in Brazilian debt to buy the contract of a soccer star who will play on a Dutch soccer team that Philips controls.

With the debt, Philips bought the rights to Romario Farias, 24, a center forward on the Brazilian Olympic team who will play for PSV Eindhoven, in Philips' hometown of Eindhoven.

To obtain its goal, Philips had to devise a riddumbout play. The company hesitated to renege its profits in Brazil because of high taxes, so it decided to use the funds in another way.

Philips paid \$4 million to buy Brazilian debt on the secondary market for a 25 percent discount. It then cashed in the debt for Brazilian cruzeiros — a practice that the Brazilian government encourages. The company then paid the cruzeiros to Vasco de Gama, the team that owned the rights to the player, so that it could send him to Eindhoven.

Since Brazil is a major producer of soccer stars, some bankers and Brazilian officials joked that selling the rights to Brazilian players could be an effective way to reduce Brazil's debt. In the past year, 18 Brazilian players have signed contracts with European soccer clubs.

Still, the policies of the Reagan administration and its close collaborator, the Federal Reserve Board, are being challenged by prominent Democrats, by the French, by James Robinson, chairman of American Express, by a score of prominent American economists and by the chairman of the International Monetary Fund, Michel Camdessus.

Much of the debate comes down to the difference between debt forgiveness and debt relief. Under forgiveness, as seen by the Baker Plan's critics, the taxpayers of the lending countries, and not just the banks, would swallow some debt.

Allied London Properties builds another successful year. Profits up 100% to £10.7m. Market value up 41% to 203p. Dividend up 31% to 2.75p. Share price up 33% to 8.26p.

Valuation of properties £165m (£118m) up 40%. Rental income £9m up 29%.

INTERNATIONAL POSITIONS You will find below a listing of job positions published last Thursday under the rubric International Positions.

Table with columns: TITLE, SALARY, EMPLOYER. Includes positions like INTERNATIONAL ACCOUNTANT, REGIONAL MANAGER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, etc.

If you haven't seen last week's INTERNATIONAL POSITIONS rubric, please ask for a free copy: Max Ferrero, INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, 92521 Neully Cedex, France. Tel: (1) 46.37.93.81. Telex: 613595





New International Bond Issues

Compiled by G. Jennifer Shapiro

Table with columns: Issuer, Amount (millions), Mat., Coup. %, Price, Price and week, Terms. Includes sections for Floating Rate Notes, Fixed-Coupon, and Equity-Linked.

Mountains of Cash on the Move for Takeovers

By Carl Gewirtz
International Herald Tribune
PARIS — A striking feature of the current low-inflation, high-interest-rate environment is the enormous amount of cash available on short notice to finance corporate takeovers.

Argentina Trims Curbs On Imports

Buenos Aires — Argentina has launched a controversial plan to open its economy through a reduction in import restrictions. The new plan will radically alter Argentina's economy, which has traditionally favored the internal market to the detriment of foreign trade, economic analysts said.

OPEC: Iran-Iraq Dispute Stymies Plan

(Continued from Page 1)
oil expert in Vienna. "Even if they reach a solution by the end of the year, oil companies have built stocks of cheap oil to keep oil prices down for a long time. The only thing that will keep prices from collapsing now is the faint hope of an OPEC accord in November."

EUROBONDS: U.S. Dollar Issues Prove Unpopular

(Continued from first finance page)
professional investors to buy and sell the large blocks in which they are accustomed to dealing. In an effort to overcome this handicap, bankers are trying to add depth to the secondary market by bringing new issues that are fungible, or interchangeable, with existing bonds.

Euromarts At a Glance

Table with columns: Eurobond, Yield, Price, etc. for various countries like U.S., Canada, etc.

Wall Street Review

Table with columns: NYSE Most Actives, AMEX Most Actives, NYSE Sales, AMEX Sales, NYSE Dividends, AMEX Dividends.

Weaker Dollar Puts a Dent in Prices

NEW YORK — Bond prices finished mixed last week, leaving analysts with divergent views about short-term trends. Philip Braverman, chief economist of Irving Trust Securities, said bond prices were experiencing a setback based in part on a weaker dollar, fears that the Federal Reserve, the U.S. central bank, would be forced to tighten credit, and higher oil prices.

U.S. Consumer Rates

Table with columns: Tax Exempt Bonds, Money Market Funds, Bank Money Market Accounts, Home Mortgages, etc.

Treasury Bonds

Table with columns: Maturity, Price, Yield, etc. for various Treasury bonds.

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NASDAQ National Market

OTC Consolidated trading for week ended Friday.

Table of NASDAQ National Market stock prices, including columns for stock symbols, sales volume, high/low/close prices, and net change.

Table of American Exchange Options, listing various option contracts with columns for option price, calls, and puts.

Table of Chicago Exchange Options, listing various option contracts with columns for option price, calls, and puts.

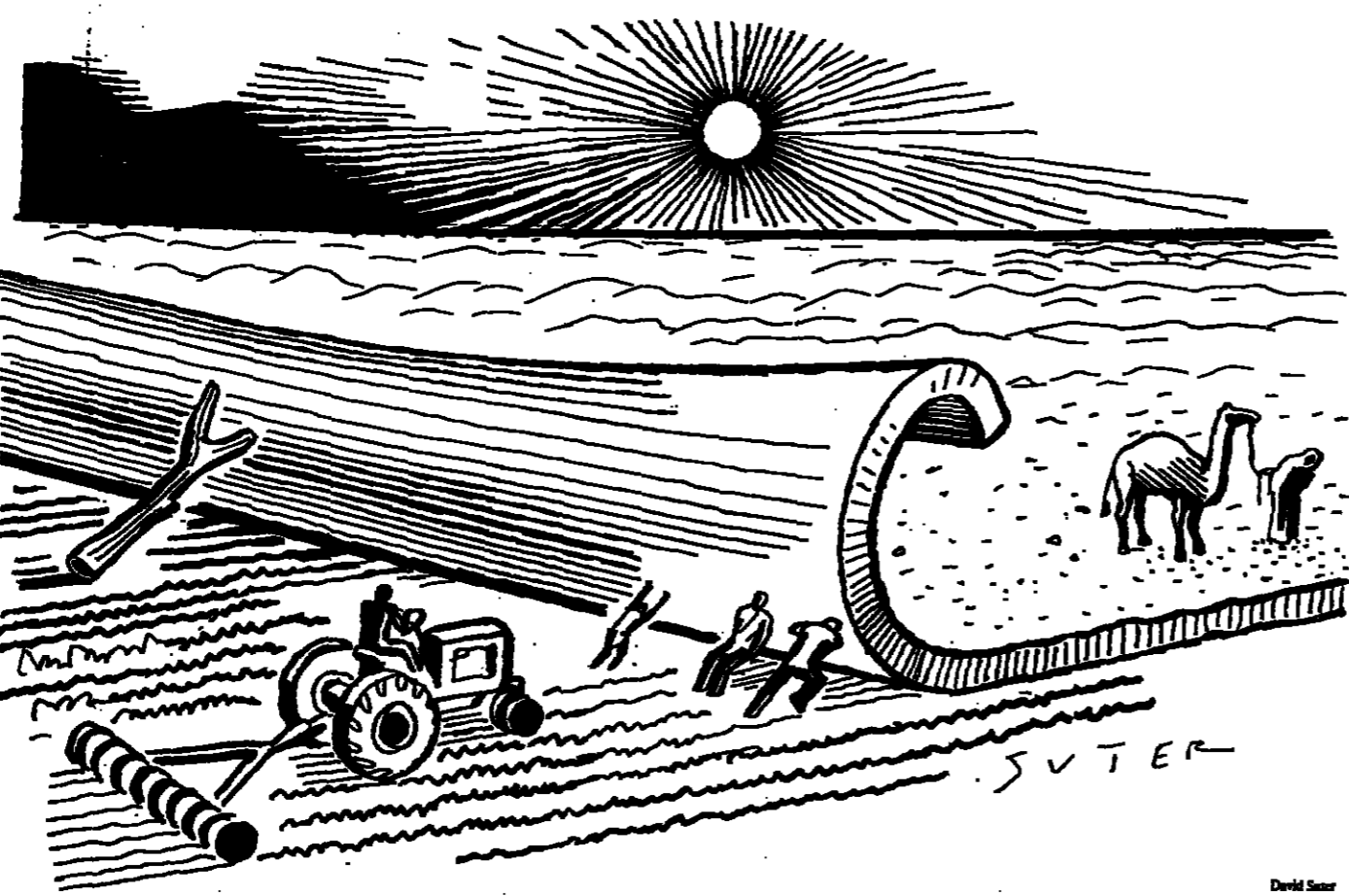
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# West Africa: Balancing Extremes



## Region's Integration Efforts Are Slowed by Recession

'Salvation lies in our individual and collective will to transform our economies by ourselves.'

By Gerald Bourke

**A**BIDJAN — The recent controversy over the dumping of toxic waste in West Africa was something of a political windfall for the region's leaders, creating a chance for a display of collective indignation and prompting a flurry of national laws to prevent such practices.

In the 30 years since the countries in the region achieved independence, there has been no shortage of lofty official pronouncements about the need to pull together. Yet most attempts at cross-border cooperation have foundered.

The latest casualty is Air Afrique, the carrier owned by 10 French-speaking West and Central African countries. With operational losses and debts at record levels, responsibility for running the region's biggest home-grown multinational is about to be handed over to a Frenchman. The airline was set up 27 years ago as a symbol of political and economic solidarity, but member states consistently failed to honor their capital subscriptions; ministers parachuted patriots onto the staff; and government officials traveled free.

Governments may be battling down the national hatches, but they continue to pay lip service to the notion of regional cooperation and integration.

President Ibrahim Bangbanga of Nigeria, the outgoing chairman of the 16-nation Economic Community of West African States, or ECOWAS, which was created to promote trade and self-reliance in the region, told fellow heads of state during a summit meeting in Lomé, the Togolese capital, last June: "It is obvious that our salvation lies in our individual and collective will to transform our economies by ourselves."

During a subsequent, no-holds-barred speech, the man who assumed the chairmanship, Sir Dawda Jawara of Gambia, scolded member states for failing to come to grips with regional issues and consistently failing to meet the objectives of the organization they set up in 1975.

"Progress has been painfully slow, as year after year new targets are set and we move from the problematic to what is in danger of becoming the unsustainable," he said.

The problem derives partly from the huge disparities between the former British, French and Portuguese colonies that make up the group. Sir Dawda and Major General Bahabanga may speak the same language, but their countries have little else in common. Gambia is a multiparty democracy where a few hundred

thousand people scratch a meager living off the land. Nigeria is ruled by the military, the well-being of its 100-million-plus population largely dependent on the fortunes of the oil industry. To compensate for differences in size and structure, considerable energy has been devoted to the establishment of small, subregional groupings — the theory being that geographical proximity and a certain degree of homogeneity will help forge deeper links and accelerate the pace of integration.

But most of the 30 or so practical experiments have been disappointing. The Mano River Union, set up by Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone to encourage joint development projects, has been plagued by problems. Political squabbles — like that which erupted recently when Liberia expelled more than 100 Sierra Leoneans — can undo at a stroke initiatives that may have taken years of painstaking negotiation. Now the organization is on the verge of collapse owing to the failure of its members to pay up pledged financial contributions.

**T**HE Senegal River Basin Development Authority, which groups Mali, Mauritania and Senegal, has never wanted for money to finance its ambitious plans. Foremost among them was the \$575 million Manantali Dam, 1,000 kilometers (600 miles) upriver, commissioned last March.

Conceived in 1972 as a way to roll back the Sahara Desert, turn chronic food-deficit countries into bread baskets and supply the region with electricity, the most expensive development project ever undertaken in the Sahel, the semidesert fringe of the Sahara that extends from Mauritania to Chad, has not come close to achieving any of these objectives. Only one — the conversion from rained to irrigated agriculture along the river banks — is now being pursued.

Fifty thousand hectares (123,000 acres) of land — 15 percent of the original target — has been developed, but a third of that remains unused. Farmers' incomes have not risen above subsistence level, and many have reverted to traditional pasturing practices. Given that it costs \$18,000 to transform a hectare, it is unlikely that much more will be developed.

Such failures are largely understandable. West African countries, most of them among the poorest in the world, are in the throes of the deepest economic recession since independence.

With commodity prices continuing to tumble, their dependence on a narrow range of vulnerable exports has proven to be little short of catastrophic. Few are able to repay the loans that they took out to launch industry and infrastructure programs when markets were kinder.

What little industry exists is starved of the foreign exchange needed to import raw materials and spare parts. And when the vagaries of a hostile climate — which inflicts drought, flooding and locust infestations in turns — are added, the cocktail assumes poisonous proportions.

The antidotes prescribed, or at least inspired, by the International Monetary Fund have yielded more resentment than results. Devaluations, tax hikes and spending cuts may improve efficiency, but they slow expansion.

West Africa's gross domestic product fell by 0.6 percent in 1986 and grew by just that margin last year, according to the United

## Natural Disasters Plague Economy

By Maryann Fitzgerald

**A**CCRA — At Oualata in northern Mauritania there are two projects being carried out simultaneously. One is to dig out the town's mosque that is threatened by encroaching Saharan sand. The other is to excavate channels to divert flooding caused by unseasonal rain.

Mauritania, like the rest of West Africa, is plagued with disasters of biblical proportions.

This year's heavy rain has delayed Ghana's district council elections because of floods in the north and west of the country, officials said. Sierra Leone appealed for international food aid on Sept. 30, because its entire harvest was destroyed by the worst floods in decades. And floods have damaged crops in northern Kano State in Nigeria.

Unusually wet years, such as 1988, are harbingers of locusts, whose eggs thrive in moist soil. West Africa may be on the edge of its worst locust plague

in 30 years. This October, the month of harvest, locusts moved southwest from Mauritania, Niger and Mali into Senegal in swarms so vast that they clouded the sky for three hours. Locusts eat their own weight in food daily and cut a swathe of devastation wherever they go.

The rains have relieved 15 years of drought. In the Sahel, it brought millions of people so close to catastrophe that it will take at least a generation for many families to recover. It also put the coastal countries into food deficit.

In Ghana, the famine was sharpened by bush fires that destroyed what little was left in the fields. Ghanaian diplomats who attended the 1983 Organization of African Unity summit meeting in Addis Ababa were shipping home sacks of potatoes and tomatoes from drought-stricken Ethiopia.

What is normal, drought or flood? "Both," said Ben Khader, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization representative based in Dakar. "It's impossible to predict the climate long

term. We can more or less be sure of about three years ahead. That's all."

The caprice of the elements exacerbates the already difficult task of long-term food strategy. For instance, good rains brought Ghana a bumper food harvest with a surplus of maize, but there is nowhere to store it. Ghana could export to neighboring Burkina Faso, where there is a chronic food shortfall. But the road is bad and there is no rail connection. It is cheaper for Burkina Faso to import from France. In Senegal, imported corn costs half the price it does to grow locally.

Mali, one of the poorest countries in the world, has raised the minimum producer price and liberalized commercial grain sales to encourage farmers who have become reliant on food aid to grow their own crops. The cost of feeding the drought-stricken nation had soared because the government was buying the grain, transporting it over bad roads to store in towns and then transporting it back to

Continued on page 13

### ADVERTISEMENT

## Ghana: Strides Towards Recovery

**G**hana's economy has been through a series of convulsions since independence in 1957. Without doubt, the economic path traversed by Ghana in her post-independence history has been one of the most tortuous and heart-breaking on the continent of Africa.

At independence, Ghana had one of the highest income per capita in sub-Saharan Africa. Then producing about a third of the total world output of cocoa, Ghana's economy held a promise for Ghanaians in particular and Africans in general. The construction of the Akosombo hydro-electric dam in 1965 opened up a new vista to Ghana in the field of industrialization. The manpower needed to teleguide the trajectory of the path towards economic buoyancy was trained through the pursuance of a fee-free education programme.

All indicators in the late 1950s and early 1960s pointed to those of a nation on the brink of economic buoyancy. And then the vision turned into a nightmare as the indicators took a downward turn.

Although many variables are known to have featured prominently in the equation of Ghana's economic stagnation and decline, the key variables have been identified as mismanagement and worsening terms of international trade. One government after another pursued economic policies which were by and large inimical to efficient utilisation of available resources and had negative effects on increased output in the productive sectors of the economy. At the other side of the spectrum, the declining prices of primary commodities on the world market, as well as the OPEC oil price hikes of the 1970's, accelerated the rate of economic decline. The decline gathered so much momentum that by the 25th anniversary of Independence in 1982, Ghana had become an economic basket-case and an object lesson in economic mismanagement.

Ghana's economic decline hit its nadir in 1982/83 when drought, bushfires and the expulsion of over one million Ghanaians from neighbouring Nigeria pushed the country close to the verge of economic collapse. Economic indicators in 1982 demonstrated the degree of deterioration when they are juxtaposed with the corresponding figures of the 1960's and the early 1970's.

### COCOA PRODUCTION

In 1965, Ghana produced 560,000 tonnes of cocoa which was equivalent to 40 per cent of the total world output. Nearly two decades later in 1983, Ghana produced 170,000 tonnes of cocoa to hold for herself only 12 per cent of total world output. The mining sector followed a similar trend: in 1963, Ghana produced 28.3 tonnes of gold; the corresponding figure for 1983 was 10.2 tonnes. Output of diamonds and timber also showed significantly decreased levels between 1960 and 1980 and finally hit bottom in 1983.

The grim economic situation was aggravated by the decline of the manufacturing and agricultural sectors. In the field of manufacturing, the significant reliance on imported raw materials at a time when returns from foreign trade was on the low side, resulted in a fall in installed plant capacity utilization from 50 per cent in the late 1960's to 15 per cent in 1983. In that same year, Ghana could only produce 60 per cent of its food requirements as compared to 71 per cent in 1979 and 83 per cent in 1965. The exodus of able-bodied young men to neighbouring countries, and the subsequent fall in the acreage under cultivation resulted in decreased output levels of every conceivable food or cash crop.

The cumulative effect of the pursuit of inappropriate and misplaced economic programmes and strategies, mismanagement and the lopsided international economic order was bizarre. The effect is reflected in the trends in key economic indicators between 1970 and 1983: import volumes dropped by a third; real export earnings fell by 52 per cent; domestic savings and investment rates declined from 12 per cent and 14 per cent to 2 and 3 per cent respectively, while real income per capita declined by 30 per cent.

While output in all sectors of the economy was declining, increased money supply, grossly unrelated to production and

productivity became the order of the day. Money supply increased at the rate of 200 per cent per annum between 1972 and 1982. The effect of the expansionist monetary policy pursued by one government after another was the high rate of domestic inflation which averaged 50 per cent per annum within that period.

It was against this background of near economic collapse that the Provisional National Defence Council launched the Economic Recovery Programme on 21st April, 1983. This programme has been pursued in two stages. The first stage covered 1983-86, while the second stage covers the period 1986-88.

Generally, the Economic Recovery Programme's main objectives have been to:

- a) Raise relative prices in favour of production and exports;
- b) Restore financial and monetary discipline;
- c) Initiate the rehabilitation of the country's production and social infrastructure and
- d) Raise the level of private investment.

### EXCHANGE RATE PARITY

Since the launching of the Programme over five years ago, the major plank has been the movement towards a more realistic exchange rate parity of the Cedi.

Under the first phase of the Programme, the exchange rate of the Cedi to the Dollar moved from the grossly over-valued rate of C2.75 to C90 to the dollar in January 1986.

In September, 1986, the Bank of Ghana introduced a foreign exchange auction regime to ensure efficient allocation of resources through a more realistic pricing of foreign currency. Administered prices have also been minimized to reduce the distortions that go with them. By and large, economic forces are determining the demand for, as well as the supply and pricing of commodities.

The pursuance of a more realistic exchange rate policy has enabled the government to use price incentives to produce significant increases in the output of all sectors of the economy. In the cocoa sector, output increased by 30 per cent in 1987 relative to the figure for 1983, while output of gold increased by more than 16 per cent within the same period. During the same period, receipts from the timber trade increased from \$16 million to \$90 million. Remarkable increases have also been recorded in the agricultural sector. Considering the production of staple food crops, output in 1987 was more than double that of 1983 and, in the manufacturing sector, installed plant capacity utilization has once again hit the 50 per cent mark.

In a nutshell, the national economy which went through a decline over more than a decade has shown signs of recovery in recent times. Since 1984, Ghana's economy has shown an average of 6 per cent growth in Gross Domestic Product. Inflation has been brought under control and has averaged 20 per cent in the period under review.

At the time of the launching of the Recovery Programme, Ghana had the option of either proceeding ever so slowly, by squeezing consumption out of a people who had already gone through a decade of hardships and sacrifices to make the resources needed for the reconstruction exercise or of accepting foreign capital on soft terms. Ghana opted for the latter course. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, as well as the Consultative Group on Ghana have supported the Recovery Programme with standby, rehabilitation and reconstruction credits.

In spite of the considerable gains made so far, Ghana's economic situation remains difficult. Added to the problems that arise from the vulnerability of the economy because of its monocrop status, has been the rising debt service ratio.



With increased investment in the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation (AGC), new resources and fresh management arrangements in other mines, Ghana's gold industry is poised to expand production. *Fit-Lt Rawlings, assisted by Madam Dorothy McColville, (sister of the late George Cappelend, an expatriate who worked with AGC for about 50 years) unveils a plaque to commemorate the commissioning of a US\$35m shaft for the AGC at Obuasi in the Ashanti Region.*

Ghana needs more inflow of foreign exchange to supplement its own efforts at resource mobilization.

Even though Ghana's adjustment programme has been carefully programmed and pursued, there have been social casualties in the recovery process. The most seriously affected are the underprivileged people in the rural areas and the peripheries of the urban centre.

The PNDC has moved a step further to give the adjustment programme a human face by launching the Programme of Actions to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment (PAMSCAD). PAMSCAD entails the execution of 23 social development projects within the next three years.

The projects are directed towards improving the living standards of the rural and urban poor. It also seeks to raise the living conditions of those who have been negatively affected by the implementation of the adjustment programmes to date. Basically, PAMSCAD, planned to involve expenditure of some \$84 million will cover employment generation. At least 40,000 jobs will be created during the next two years; schemes will be implemented to rehabilitate the economic infrastructure in the rural communities, and through the application of the community initiative principle, water, healthcare, nutrition and shelter will be provided for the vulnerable groups.

PAMSCAD is an integral part of the second phase of the Recovery Programme (1986-88). Under the second phase which ends at the end of this year, the PNDC has aimed to:

- a) sustain economic growth at between 5 to 5.5 per cent;
- b) increase the level of public expenditure from about 10 per cent of the national income to 25 per cent by the end of the decade;
- c) increase the savings rate from 7 per cent at the end of ERPI to about 15 per cent by the end of the decade;
- d) further improve the management of resources in the public sector and
- e) effectively mobilize the resources thus generated to improve the social and overall well-being of the people of Ghana, particularly the underprivileged, deprived and vulnerable.

The strides Ghana has made towards economic recovery have been significant by every known economic yardstick. The confidence of the international community in the nation has been bolstered by the bold attempts the PNDC has made to grapple with the nation's hydra-headed economic problems.

Ghana's rate of recovery will be accelerated by an increased inflow from the private sector through direct investment in the country. Under the investment code which came into effect in 1985, incentives have been earmarked for direct investment in areas such as real estate, the construction industry, agriculture, tourism, mining and hydrocarbon exploration. In theory and in fact, every sector of the economy has sufficient room to accommodate the foreign investor.

The Ghana Investments Centre is currently reviewing the 1985 code to reflect the realities of the current international economic environment. The reviewed code will then raise the incentive package to the level which obtains in the investment havens of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

### REFORM PROGRAMME

The PNDC's reform programme has not been limited just to the economic field. A far reaching educational reform programme was launched in September 1987. This programme is geared towards democratizing access to education and making it more functional and related to Ghana's current and future economic and political programmes. The educational programme retains the fee-free structure at the basic level. Cost recovery but tuition free and more efficient structures are to be put in place at the secondary and tertiary levels. During the next six years over which the programme has been stretched, the recurrent education budget is expected to grow at 4 per cent, while capital expenditure is to be increased by a similar margin to ensure the rehabilitation of all available facilities and provide an expanded intake at all levels of the school system.

Ghanaians in all walks of life are preparing for district level elections which represent the first in the series of steps designed to democratize the political system, through the creation of district political authorities. Apart from making people at grassroot level more involved in the decision making process, the district political authorities will also galvanize initiatives for the mobilization of resources in their districts to accelerate economic and social development. The elections, slated for November/December of this year, will make a clear break from practice to date. For the first time in the history of Ghana, members of society who are not literate in the English language can contest elections to the district assemblies. With a view to tapping all available human resources, the business of the district assemblies will be conducted in the local languages. The National Commission for Democracy has created forty-five new districts to enable as many Ghanaians as possible to get involved in decision-taking that will affect the destiny of the country.

Under the Government of the PNDC, Ghana has for the first time since the overthrow of the Government of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in 1966, returned to the centre stage of Pan-African and sub-continental activities. Ghana is actively involved in the continental efforts aimed at the independence of Namibia, the establishment of a non-racial society in South Africa and peace in Southern Africa.

At the sub-regional level, Ghana which is a founding member of ECOWAS, is now playing a leading role in the economic integration of the countries in the West African Sub-region. Ghana sees no sacrifice as being too great. If this will eventually lead to the creation of an integrated West Africa, PNDC has, more often than not, expressed impatience at the slow pace made by ECOWAS towards the realization of its stated goals.

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'Back to Basics' ■ Regional Migration

# CFA Franc Resisting Devaluation Pressure

By Terry Bell

LONDON — The CFA franc, the common hard currency of most French-speaking Africa, and tied since 1948 to the fortunes of the French franc, is overvalued. About this there is general agreement. But while this fact has triggered heated debates about the advisability and perceived merits of devaluation, the historic 50:1 exchange rate ratio is almost certain to stay, at least until 1992.

This is despite the substantial pressure being exerted, primarily from within the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, both of which favor devaluation as an essential tool for structural adjustment programs in debt-ravaged African states.

Even Britain's *The Economist* magazine has called for an "all together" devaluation in the franc zone, to create a closer relationship between the franc of the Communauté Financière Africaine and the often heavily devalued currencies of neighboring states.

But although the French finance minister, Pierre Bérégovoy, promised at the franc zone ministerial conference before the recent IMF/World Bank congress in West Berlin that there would be no devaluation, the rumors persist. Part of the reason — one to which even Mr. Bérégovoy has admitted privately — is that the currency is overvalued and causes a considerable drain on the French Treasury.

However, like so many of the arguments advanced for devaluation, the "considerable drain" on France is highly relative and usually overstated.

For example, in money supply terms, the 13 CFA countries — Benin, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Togo, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Equatorial Guinea and Gabon — together account for only about 4 percent of the total French money supply.

And although the two accounts maintained for the zone — the first seven countries constitute the West African and the remainder the Central African account — are both in deficit, they have in the recent past both been in credit.

The CFA countries and Ivory Coast, in particular, have been hit severely by the collapse in commodity prices, most of which are denominated in still relatively weak U.S. dollars. This has led to the situation

where farm gate prices for cocoa far exceed foreign exchange revenues for the commodity.

On World Bank calculations, Ivory Coast stands to lose at least 100 billion CFA francs (\$312 million) this year on cocoa sales of 600,000 tons. But cocoa production in the country is mainly in the hands of small peasant producers who also grow other crops and are relatively self-sufficient.

President Félix Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast has, therefore, been able to cut the guaranteed producer price from 400 CFA francs to 320 CFA francs without fear of internal upheavals. He could, and probably will, cut this price further at a time when the dollar shows signs of strengthening.

With Europe heading toward a single market in 1992 and the 16-nation Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) aiming to bring about full monetary harmonization by that date, there is little incentive to tamper with the franc zone now. Seven of the ECOWAS countries, members of the West African division of the zone, already enjoy monetary equilibrium, and unscrambling the 40-year-old arrangement would be extremely complex.

Besides, there are distinct advantages to having a rate of exchange pegged to a stable currency, such as the French franc, not the least of which has been that the CFA nations have avoided many of the tribulations of inflation.

Although it is arguable that an overvalued hard currency hampers investment, the stability it brings is a definite encouragement. And there is, again, general agreement that investment will be essential if African countries — irrespective of their monetary regimes — are to grow out of the swamp of debt they now find themselves in.

Surrounded by uncertainties, with massive overhangs in commodity markets and with rescheduled debt often merely a postponement of the day of reckoning, most of French-speaking Africa, and the formerly Spanish Equatorial Guinea, at least have monetary stability.

Franc monetary links may have their roots in colonial ideas — the reason Guinea Conakry left the CFA zone nearly 30 years ago — and may the member states a bit too closely to France than many might wish, but the advantages still outweigh the disadvantages.

TERRY BELL is co-editor of *Africa Analysis*.



Basilica, planned to be world's largest, under construction in Yamoussoukro.

## Symbolism Marks Development Projects

By Richard Syngé

LONDON — Adopting pseudo-impairt symbolism, President Félix Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast has now completed his long life's work with the construction of an extraordinary Roman Catholic basilica of granite and marble in his home town of Yamoussoukro. In classical Greco-Roman style, the edifice is intended to grace both church and state, and should soon receive a papal consecration in the presence of world leaders.

Having already endowed Yamoussoukro with one of Africa's best-watered golf courses, a supreme court and a university campus, Mr. Houphouët-Boigny, 83, is also building a mausoleum for himself so that after he dies, his 45 years of political domination of Ivory Coast cannot easily be forgotten.

The Yamoussoukro phenomenon may be, uniquely egotistical, justified by Mr. Houphouët-Boigny's unusual continuity in power in a region where presidents come and go rather more rapidly. But its extravagance is by no means unique.

In nearby Nigeria, the new central city of Abuja is designed to become a modernistic concrete-and-glass showpiece of the country's power and wealth, along the lines of Brasilia. The incidental fact that Abuja still lacks the basic infrastructure to function as a capital city is a reflection of two things

important in Nigeria, the corruption rampant in the oil-boom era and the more recent collapse of the country's oil revenues.

Although there is no more money left to spend on such a project, Abuja has managed to acquire international hotels, including the world's largest Hilton, a magnificent mosque and an airport built to take the Concorde. Unlike Yamoussoukro it lacks a cathedral — a symptom of the deep divisions among Nigerian Christians.

Only the formerly rich nations of West Africa were able to conceive and pursue such projects as Abuja and Yamoussoukro, but the region as a whole has more than its share of such semi-complete and questionable development projects.

Some of the biggest follies have been the ambitious irrigation schemes of the Sahel, from Senegal through Mali and into Nigeria. Without exception these have produced disappointing agricultural results and have been blighted by poor rains and inexperienced management. River basin developments have tended to consume inordinate amounts of money and to create more political and economic problems than they solve.

The Senegal River Basin Development Authority saddled its member states — Mali, Mauritania and Senegal — with crushing debts, approaching \$1 billion, before it began to see the planned benefits of irrigation, river navigation and electric power. There is no hope of the authority paying for itself until well into the next century.

West Africa's stalled projects, whether in

agriculture or industry, illustrate the huge change in the region's prospects that occurred in the early 1980s. Ten years ago, all West African leaders could aspire to achieving great things for their countries. Although not rich, they could easily raise the money to start industrial complexes and assembly and steel plants. In 1988, these are regarded as luxuries.

The spending boom ran out before results could be achieved. Governments are now so short of cash they can barely meet the immediate and more pressing needs of sheer economic survival. With most national economies and living conditions in decline, the region's big investments are reserved exclusively for projects with guaranteed earnings, as with Ghana's gold mines and Nigeria's oil and gas fields.

West Africa is redrawing its development prospects in the light of harsh economic reality. Instead of new capital cities, priority now has to be given to relieving the pressing needs of rural and urban communities, with the emphasis on roads, water and power supplies, health clinics and schools.

In recognition of the high social costs involved in the International Monetary Fund-prescribed "structural adjustment" process sweeping West Africa, the international community is experimenting with special programs to "ameliorate" these costs. Ghana and Senegal are trying out community labor and food-for-work projects as they try to keep adjustment on track.

The "back to basics" trend has put drinking water projects at the top of West Africa's list of priorities. The region's biggest city, Lagos, is embarking this year on a massive \$400 million scheme to pipe water for 8 million inhabitants. At the other end of the scale, village communities are gradually acquiring borehole drilling and pumping equipment.

The new emphasis on human-scale projects can provide a safety net and lead to better health, but only economically productive investments can improve the region's economic and financial standing in the world economy.

The fundamental requirements of a viable project in West Africa are its capacity to earn foreign exchange and its potential to make a profit. Currently, goldmines and oilfields lead the field in this respect and are beginning to attract very substantial foreign investment, helped by more welcoming government policies.

Investors are also reassessing the potential of agricultural schemes, such as cotton farms and ginneries, and oil palm plantations and mills. This is the beginning of a regenerative economic process in West Africa. Only if this succeeds, can prestige projects like Yamoussoukro have any real justification.

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## Resources Stretched by Influx to Cities

By Maryann Fitzgerald

ABIDJAN — Eight thousand people live here on eight hectares of reclaimed swamp, where a patchwork of plastic, wood and tin provides shelter for Ivorian and Boukinabe job seekers and their families.

Chickens forage atop mounds of garbage swarming with flies. Visitors pick their way over stagnant open drains, a hazard that is ignored by those who live here. The shantytown is only a few kilometers from the wide boulevards and shaded villas of Abidjan's middle-class suburbs, but here there are neither telephones nor electric lights, nor toilets, because the government does not officially recognize its existence.

Slums such as these are symptomatic of the economic ills that afflict the region. Most West African capitals are overwhelmed by the poor, who embark on a mistaken pilgrimage from the countryside in search of financial security. The effect is to place more strain on already inadequate social services which in turn can fuel civil unrest.

It is a disturbing trend. In Africa, political change is often preceded by protests against the erosion of living standards as this month's riots in Algeria demonstrated.

Urban migration is enlarging towns by 5 percent to 10 percent a year. Thirty-five years from now, more than half of all West Africans will have been uprooted from the countryside, and will be living in cities and towns, population experts predict.

Senegal, where 70 percent of the population is rural, is pursuing pricing policies designed to encourage farmers to stay on their land. Even so, by 2025, Dakar will have more than 5 million inhabitants compared to the million or so who live there today, who compose one-fifth of the nation.

West African populations have a tradition of migration in search of opportunity. One of the side effects of this ebb and flow across borders is the acquisition of more than one nationality. A Boukinabe, for instance, may also carry a Mali passport.

During the initial post-independence period, when economies were expanding, governments could afford to absorb a spillover of labor from their less successful neighbors. But since the recession of the early 1980s, regional goodwill has sometimes wavered. In 1983, Nigeria expelled a million Ghanaian migrant workers overnight when Ghanaian oil prices fell. About 5 million Nigerians were out of work as well.

Ivory Coast, traditionally more prosperous than many of its neighbors, attracts a constant influx of labor, from dockers to executives. A high school teacher who is paid \$350 a month in Senegal can double his salary in Abidjan. While migrant workers are accorded nearly every hospitality, they are denied citizenship, even if they are third-generation residents.

ECOWAS, the Economic Community of West African States, is seeking to lift this protectionism. At the summit meeting in Togo capital of Lomé in July, members agreed to withdraw work permits and allow the free passage of labor throughout the region. There is likely to be a considerable time lag, however, between decision and implementation.

"It's a brave move. But it has to be

West Africa has a tradition of migration in search of opportunity.

accompanied by national initiative, or we'll have a repeat of what happened in Nigeria. They need to develop small-scale industry," said Cheikh Fall, chief aide to Babacar Ndiaye, president of the African Development Bank.

Yet commitment to expansion has coincided with hard times. Several countries have opted for assistance from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. And by doing so, leaders must juggle the moral obligations of caring for their people with the stringent demands of structural adjustment. Many West Africans are of the belief that short-term political stability is being sacrificed on the altar of long-term economic reform.

The high expectations inspired by the

growth of the 1970s are no longer being met because the resources simply are not there. Budget deficits are being closed at the expense of health and education expenditure. And social unrest bubbles below the surface throughout the region although, for the most part, it has been contained.

In Senegal, university and high school students returned to class this month after being on strike all year. Last February, they triggered riots after national elections. The students' grievances are rooted in the fact that employment after graduation, once considered a right, is now difficult to find.

In Ivory Coast they joke that when you have an accident, do it with a friend, who must shop for everything required for the operation, including the cotton wool and

rubber gloves, because hospitals are so strapped for cash.

Five years ago, when Ghana embarked on an economic reform program with the World Bank and the IMF, as many as three-quarters of the people were living below the poverty line. There has been considerable progress since the "dark years" of the early 1980s when famine was widespread.

With World Bank support, the government intends to reduce public sector financial obligations by removing about 80,000 workers from the state payroll. In some ministries, visitors pass men sitting idle at empty tables placed in corridors. In others, four-fifths of the annual budget went toward salaries.

The government target is to cut 45,000 from the 317,000-member civil service between 1987 and 1989. In addition, the Cocoa Board has already reduced its former labor force of about 100,000 to roughly half.

So far, 18,000 names have been cut from ministry payrolls. But, as the first ever civil service census revealed in August 1987, up to 15,000 of these people did not exist. There are no more "ghosts" now that salaries are paid directly into employees' bank accounts.

## Natural Disasters Plague Economy

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farmers, together with imported grain, each time famine struck.

At the same time, farmers were losing out because massive shipments of emergency food depressed market prices. In some instances, farmers incurred debts to cover the cost of production.

The fragile cycle of food production is also governed by pricing policies. In many countries, prices are not announced until after planting. But in Senegal, consistently high producer prices have reaped larger harvests.

High prices bring surpluses, but poor infrastructures make it difficult to either store or export. Even so, most governments are obliged to purchase surpluses, usually through scantily financed marketing boards, which offer low and unprofitable prices to the farmer.

When the government offers low prices for producing crops, the peasants produce less. Then when drought hits, they fall back into a food dependent position. Poor storage facilities for buffer stocks means that there is never food security during hard times.

Government intervention in market prices and the inability to exploit regional export markets are two major inhibitors of food production, according to Mathew Okai, regional agricultural planning economist for the FAO in Accra.

A third factor is the inadequate supply of inputs, particularly fertilizer. Often fertilizer arrives at ports after farmers have planted. Sometimes not enough is imported.

In Accra, a large sign spells out the agricultural philosophy of Flight Lieutenant Jerry J. Rawlings, the Ghanaian leader: "We must grow what we eat and eat what we grow."

It is a target that has yet to be attained.

World Bank officials admit that not enough attention has been paid to food production since an economic reform program began five years ago. Ghana still relies on food aid and commercial imports. But the potential is there.

Workers following up on former President Jimmy Carter's Global 2000 Report are showing peasant farmers how they can improve their yields from half a ton an acre to two to four tons an acre by using the same seed but adding fertilizer and planting in rows. Smallholder extension work such as this is important as 95 percent of Ghana's food crops are grown on plots of less than 10 acres.

"Ghana can be self-sufficient in all food-stuffs quite easily and even export to the Sahel with this sort of productivity. It hasn't happened before because the agricultural support system broke down. The government was importing and distributing fertilizer but it wasn't reaching the small farmers. The big guys got it instead," explained Senegalese Chel, the resident representative of the World Bank in Accra.

Ghana has earned World Bank approval with its decision to withdraw fertilizer subsidies and privatize the marketing of both cereals and fertilizer by 1990. The state-run Ghana Food Distribution Corporation already handles less than 10 percent of food surpluses.

Since the inception of the World Bank's free market prescription, prices in Ghana have fluctuated widely. A 100 kilogram (220 pounds) bag of maize is selling for 1,500 cedis (\$6.50) this month because it is the harvest. But six months from now, the same bag would fetch cedis 10,000.

In theory, the scantily funded Ghana Food Distribution Corporation offers farmers a minimum guaranteed price of 4,800 cedis, but they may not be able to follow through with the intent of shoring up the market price as they become overstretched



Downtown Dakar, in Senegal, which has adopted a national population policy.

## Urban Trends Restrain Rapid Population Growth

ACCRA — Godwin Kashi-gah, a Ghanaian accountant, taxi driver and aspiring construction company owner, is not a chip off the old block. His father, a farmer, had five wives and 36 offspring. Godwin and his wife, both practicing Christians, have four children.

It is middle-class, urban attitudes such as the Kashi-gahs' that will apply the brakes to West Africa's rapid population growth of over 3 percent. Africa is the only continent where the rate at which the population increases continues to rise.

The region, like the rest of black Africa, is changing demographically, with populations living longer. During the post-World War II colonial period, most West Africans expected to die before they reached 40. Today the average lifespan for a man is 45. For a woman, despite her hard work, it is 48.

But West Africa has yet to ar-

rive at the second stage of transition, falling birth rates. Mothers have an average of six or seven children, the highest fertility rate in the world.

West Africans place great store in fecundity. In Ivory Coast, belts, necklaces and bracelets are made of strings of cowrie shells, sewn onto leather, symbols of female genitalia. Much of traditional and modern art depicts the female figure as a symbol of procreation.

Many women would like to have fewer children than they do, but custom, legal rights, poor schooling and the low government priority given to family planning clinics have so far conspired against their emancipation. Fewer than 10 percent of married women use family planning services.

Men, who tend to view children as cheap labor and social security for their old age, traditionally make decisions on important matters such as the use of contraception.

Maryann Fitzgerald

## Recession Adds New Brake

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Nations Economic Commission for Africa.

There is a growing belief, however, that precious resources, both human and financial, can be spared, and wider regional development objectives better served, by larger bodies.

The West African Monetary Union, best known by its French acronym, UMOA, is a case in point. Its seven members, all former French colonies, share a common currency, the Communauté Financière Africaine franc, which has been pegged to the French franc at a rate of 50:1 since 1948.

Dismissed by some critics as a colonial hangover that allows France to maintain profitable economic ties with the region, UMOA has nevertheless provided its members with a rare degree of financial stability.

Yet, while UMOA has given West Africa a taste of monetary union, its existence is said to be undermining the aspirations of ECOWAS in this direction — in

part because the convertibility of the CFA franc has made it the most valuable medium of exchange throughout West Africa.

As a result, as much as 25 percent of Nigeria's refined oils are smuggled into neighboring Cameroon, Niger and Benin where they fetch up to 10 times more, in a hard currency, than what they would at home in devalued naira.

For the same reason, Ghanaian cocoa is spirited across the border into Ivory Coast, and much of *Gambia's groundnut crop finds its way into Senegal.*

The proliferation of such traffic not only acts as a brake on progress toward the main declared objective of ECOWAS governments — the creation of a single market — but it also deprives them of valuable customs revenues and puts fragile industries in jeopardy.

Officials at the Ivory Coast Chamber of Industry, an umbrella grouping of some 700 registered companies, estimate that the state loses up to 200 billion CFA francs a year — equivalent to about a

third of the national budget — as a result of customs duty evasion alone.

Unimax, Ivory Coast's biggest textiles manufacturer and one of the country's largest companies, is now on the verge of collapse owing to the upsurge in illegal cloth imports from Nigeria.

Under the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that official intra-community trade has remained static, at 4 percent of member states' total trade, since ECOWAS was established. Yet most of the mechanisms designed to improve the situation, such as a standardized tariff nomenclature, have been in place for years.

The progressive alignment of levies was due to begin in 1981, but the pursuit of national interests, the raising of revenue and protection of domestic firms has kept them from changing. And they seem likely to remain unchanged for the time being.

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